Build a Labor Party Now!

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CHINESE REVOLUTIONIST PROTESTS PERSECUTIONS

(See Page 2)

Dobbs Protests Inclusion of SWP On N. Y. Blacklist

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent a letter to J. Edward Conway, President of the N. Y. State Civil Service Commission, protesting inclusion of the SWP on its "subversive" blacklist. The text of the letter is as follows:

The press reports that the State Civil Service Commission proposes to strike from its rolls and otherwise penalize members of 35 organizations listed as "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General. Among these is the Socialist Workers Party.

This is our first notice of its ruling designed to deprive public workers of employment and their good name solely because of their political views and associations. The action is doubly arbitrary. The Civil Service Commission did not offer our party any opportunity for a hearing; it simply made a selection, on unknown grounds, from the Attorney General's blacklist.

SWP SPOKESMAN

FARRELL DOBBS

HEARING REFUSED

But the Socialist Workers Party, along with the other groups included, was placed upon that list without prior notification, specification of charges, or hearing. Our Party's repeated requests since 1948 for such a hearing have all been turned down, on a flimsy technical pretext. As late as May 3 of this year, Attorney General Brownell rejected the Socialist Workers Party protest against its redesignation.

On April 30, 1951 the U.S. Supreme Court by a five to three vote ruled that the Attorney General flagrantly exceeded his authority in establishing his "subversive list." According to the court, no organization should be so designated before it has been (1) informed of the charges on which the designation rests, (2) granted an administrative hearing, (3) allowed to present evidence in its own behalf. **First the Department of Justice, and now your own Commission, have disregarded these procedures demanded by the Supreme Court majority.**

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York on April 22, 1951 termed the Attorney General's list "a purely hearsay declaration. . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed associations."

No less alarming is the requirement in your Commission order that Civil Service applicants must state whether they have ever signed nominating petitions for candidates of any of the blacklisted organizations. This is an unprecedented "guilt by association." Such signatures need not signify any agreement with a party or its policies; they only support the right of minority parties to appear on the ballot. Can there be a grosser abridgment of elementary democratic rights than to penalize people who seek to exercise them?

In view of these facts, our party vigorously protests the ruling of the Commission and requests that it be withdrawn as a test of Civil Service employment in this state.

Labor, Liberal Leaders Hit Police-State Law in Michigan

Inspiring Detroit Rally Defends Civil Liberties Against the Trucks Act

DETROIT, Oct. 23 — An inspiring example for the nation-wide fight against the witch-hunt was set by the rally here this evening at the Central Methodist Church to protest attacks upon civil liberties. **In Detroit's largest meeting on this issue in years, more than 500 persons responded enthusiastically to prominent labor and liberal leaders who joined in voicing the most vigorous defense of civil liberties heard in this area since the start of the witch hunt.**

Among the chief speakers, who vied in attacking the Michigan Trucks police-state law and the general drive against the rights of the American people, were Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of America's largest union, the CIO United Automobile Workers, and Charles C Lockwood, attorney for Lieut. Milo Radulovich who was discharged from the Air Force Reserve because it was claimed his father once read the **Daily Worker.** Ernest Mazey, Secretary of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, which sponsored the meeting, made the opening remarks.

George Dean, President of the Michigan Federation of Labor, AFL, scored the apathy which has existed in the fight to protect civil liberties and urged increased continuing effort to defend basic rights. He demonstrated the direct connection between the general attack on civil liberties and the legislative attacks on labor.

DEFENDS CP RIGHTS

UAW Secretary Treasurer Emil Mazey made the most principled defense of civil liberties heard from a top CIO spokesman in recent years. He castigated those who are for civil liberties only "for those who agree with us." **He insisted it is "essential to defend the rights of all groups including the Communist Party" in spite of fundamental disagreements with them and their criminal record in "championing the denial of rights to their opponents."** He referred to the support the Communist Party gave the government in its first use of the Smith "Gag" Act, against the Socialist Workers Party in the 1941 Minneapolis Labor Case. Now the government is using this same law with deadly effect against the CP.

Mazey cited the increasing domination by the military and Big Business as the source of the attacks on civil liberties and called for a struggle to eliminate the stranglehold of militarists and monopolists on this country.

NEGRO RIGHTS INVOLVED

Dr. Preston Slosson, history professor at the University of Michigan, analyzed the Trucks law and also assailed the current threats to academic freedom.

The special problems of racial minorities in relation to the attacks on civil liberties were stressed by Reverend Robert Bradby Jr., of the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church. He demonstrated the connection between the fight for democratic rights and the Negro struggle for equality.

Jerry Raymond, National Representative of the Mechanics Educational Society, an independent union, urged the defense of the rights of all groups, no matter how unpopular, because "when any section of the people lose some of their liberty we all lose part of our liberty."

RADULOVICH CASE

The issues in the Radulovich case, described in the Oct. 19 **Militant**, were forcefully presented by Mr. Lockwood. Quoting from the transcript of the case, he revealed the Air Force procedure as a mockery of a fair hearing, devoid of justice. He especially scored the press statement by Defense Secretary

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Detroit Voters Urged to Support Charles E. Diggs

By James Haskins

DETROIT, Oct. 26 — The Big Business daily newspapers have opened their anticipated campaign against State Senator Charles E. Diggs, Jr., successful Negro candidate who finished in sixth place in the primary city election for Detroit Common Council. **Diggs polled more than 56,000 votes, a record for a Negro running for this office.**

The opposition of the daily press to Diggs is shrewder than in the past, but just as vicious. They are following the same general tactics of divide and rule used so unscrupulously and brutally in the Frankensteen campaign in 1945, when the former CIO auto workers vice president ran for mayor. Then they stirred up all the race hate and prejudice they could. They are determined to keep the Common Council lily-white, particularly since the election is for a four-year term.

FRAMEUP ORGANIZED

The most outrageous example of these tactics is the frameup organized by the Detroit Times against Diggs. This Hearst paper prepared a red-baiting public smear against him, in the guise of an interrogation, on the pretext that Billy Allen, editor of the Michigan Worker, placed a Diggs poster in the window of the office of the Michigan Worker. **They put the red-baiting pressure solely on Diggs even though it is common knowledge that the Communist Party is supporting the entire labor-supported bloc of seven, including such outright capitalist politicians as Mariani and Van Antwerp.**

Together with this pressure against Diggs is the continued general threat of an impending visit by the House Un-American Activities Committee to incite

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Is E. German Struggle Softening?

By Murry Weiss

The East German Stalinist regime announced on Oct. 26 a widespread reduction in prices covering some 1,200 consumer items. The cut in prices is announced as a prelude to the elimination of rationing some time next summer. Will this satisfy the insurgent East German workers?

Since the June 17 uprising, the workers have been demanding a 40% cut in state prices. While the announced reduction does not meet this demand it is a fairly drastic cut in the prices of commodities basic to workers' living standards. Considering items most in demand by workers, the announced cuts are as follows: lard, 22%; margarine, 25%; milk, 20%; fresh meat, 10%.

These price cuts have not been tested as yet. Serious dislocations exist in agriculture. The flight of the peasants during the last year will result in an estimated 10% decrease in farm production. Ordinarily this would exert an upward pressure on prices. However, it is reported that sufficient food imports are expected to offset this tendency. Thus it is expected that the food allotment of the East German workers may be a little more this winter than last winter.

NEW SPEED-UP DRIVE

The reduction in prices is accompanied by a new speed-up drive. The Stalinists are playing with the same fire that provoked the June general strike. The drive to raise productivity is modeled on the infamous Stakhanovite campaign in the Soviet union.

A hero is "discovered." Then begins a big ballyhoo. There is Frida Hockauf, a weaver. Her picture is plastered over every factory. Frida Hockauf pledged to raise her production voluntarily by an extra 131 feet of cloth for the last quarter of this month. "Frida Hockauf does not belong to any secret workers organization," says an article in the East German press, "Her husband doesn't have to wait at all for his meals or go to work with uncared-for clothes."

There are signs of fearful recollection of that terrible "day" of June 17, in the technique used to promote the new speed-up. First, there is great emphasis on raising

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Incited by Race Haters

These women (one at left is holding stick and rock) were part of a mob, incited by real estate interests and professional race haters, that tried to prevent three Negro families from moving into the Trumball housing project on Chicago's Southside. (Story in Oct. 26 Militant.) Rent sharks are trying to keep Negro people confined to high-rent over-crowded segregated areas

Buffalo Negroes Suffer Savage Police Beatings

By L. Cameron

BUFFALO — Police terror once again hit the Negro community in this city early in the morning of Oct. 10. This time it took the form of an unmerciful beating of two young workers, Norman and James Daniels, by six club-happy policemen, on the corner of Broadway and Michigan, a beating which apparently continued in two police vehicles en route to the jail. Both men were hospitalized with severe injuries.

After reading the distorted account in the Big Business press, which told the public that two "crazed" men had sent five policemen to the hospital, this reporter went to the home of Norman Daniels, one of the victims. "You're the first reporter that's been here," Mrs. Daniels told me. The Empire Star, one of the local Negro papers, had echoed the prejudiced slanting of the "white" dailies.

Mrs. Norman Daniels is a warm, friendly young woman who spoke to me in a simple, straightforward way about the atrocious treatment her husband had received. The well-furnished apartment gave one the picture of a happy, stable life. A stunningly beautiful little girl played nearby as we talked.

Mrs. Daniels spelled out such words as p-o-l-i-c-e. She said, 'We are telling Deborah that her Daddy is at work," and went on to explain that this was not easy to do, because Deborah is three and very quick to catch things that are said. Besides, she wonders why she and her mother do not stand on the corner and wave at her bus-driver Daddy when he rides by, the way they used to do. A few days ago she came in from playing and asked, "Mama, are my Daddy in jail?"

At the time of the incident, Norman Daniels was waiting on the corner for a taxi he had ordered, and two officers told him to move on. Apparently he committed the crime of talking back, for the cops arrested him, insulted him, and proceeded to work him over.

His brother, James Daniels, who was nearby, attempted to come to his rescue. In almost no time there were six policemen beating the two brothers, while at least half a dozen more held off the growing crowd. After beating the two men, the police carried them off in two different vehicles, several cops accompanying each one. As one of the cars drove away, its sides were seen to give from the impact of the commotion inside.

SEVERELY INJURED

It is not known exactly how long the cops drove their victims around. Mrs. Daniels, who was told about it right away, went to the police station and waited an hour for them to show up. After going home and making frantic phone calls she finally contacted them two or three hours later. Both men received bloody head wounds, internal injuries, and lacerations. **James Daniels, who had come to his brother's aid, suffered the most severe injuries, including a skull fracture and a head cut that necessitated thirty-five stitches.**

"The public has got to do something about police brutality," Mrs. Daniels said. "All races are hit by this kind of thing. We're taught democracy, but we get just the opposite in practice. We pay taxes to support a police department, and instead of protecting us they make it bad for us to walk the streets." She told me that her husband's excellent standing in the community could

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Weiss Backs Demands Of N. Y. Milk Strikers

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 — Full support to New York's striking milkmen was pledged today by David L. Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. "All working-class New Yorkers should realize, despite any inconvenience, that this strike is part of their struggle for better living and working conditions," Weiss declared. "The real culprits are the milk companies. They cheat the upstate farmers on the price of raw milk, underpay and overwork the inside workers and drivers, and then overcharge the consumer."

The Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate singled out for praise the demand of the milk strikers for a 35-hour week with no reduction in pay. **"This is carrying the ball for the whole labor movement because it is the kind of demand needed by labor now to meet the threat of layoffs and a possible increase in unemployment."**

Fifteen thousand milk drivers and pasteurization-plant workers, belonging to five locals of the AFL Teamsters union, went out on strike in the greater New York area yesterday. Beside the 35-hour week, the milk strikers are demanding a $15 weekly pay boost, 11 paid holidays, longer vacations and sweeping changes in their antiquated contracts with the 200 milk companies. The strike affects New York City, Long Island, northern New Jersey and part of Fairfield County in Connecticut.

It was immediately apparent that the strike action was very effective. The only milk deliveries being made are those arranged by the union to schools, hospitals, child-care centers, homes for the aged, and similar institutions.

Samuel J. Cohen, negotiator for the striking milk workers, told reporters that government controls during the war and during the post-war period had made it impossible for the union to bring its contract up to date on working conditions and enforcement rules.

"This contract, other than its wage and welfare provisions, has not been substantially revised during these many years of war limitations," Cohen declared. "The industry no longer can offer the excuse that some government board stymies genuine bargaining."

He outlined the companies' strategy as one of stalling and refusing to negotiate on contract revision and then "buying us off with a few dollars of wage increases offered at the very last minute."

(For more on New York elections see page 4.)

DAVID L. WEISS

Back to "Normal" - Unemployment Grows

By Milton Alvin

Increased concern over mounting lay-offs and falling pay is being expressed in the labor movement. Both AFL and CIO unions are beginning to press demands for a shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay, as reported in last week's Militant. Their concern is more than justified by the reports of lay-offs, more part-time work and loss of overtime pay in almost all industries.

In just the past week or two, more lay-offs have been announced in a wide range of industries. For instance, West Coast shipyards have cut down their working forces from 30 to 50% from the peak employment of seven months ago. The American Woolen Co., world's largest manufacturer of wool cloth, is laying off 3,500 workers. A company spokesman said: "Things look dismal." The Caterpillar Tractor Co. of Peoria, farm-machinery manufacturer, is slicing 2,000 off the payroll in addition to 5,000 laid off since Feb. 1952.

The General Electric Co., after getting a million dollars' worth of publicity out of giving away five shares of stock each to 95 babies born to employees on the company's 75th birthday, announced a lay-off of 4,000 workers from its Erie, Pa., plant over the next two months. No plan was announced to give any stock to the children of the 4,000 workers about to lose their jobs.

INDICATIONS OF TREND

Indicative of the trend is the Wall Street Journal report of Oct. 26 which states, "In the month to mid-September, factory employment declined by 60,000 persons, whereas a rise of some 200,000 has occurred during that period in other recent years."

Shorter work weeks and loss of overtime pay are reported from many parts of the country. According to U.S. News and World Report of Oct. 23, "Help Wanted" signs are coming down in more and more cities. Unskilled workers are finding it more difficult to find employment and are waiting longer periods between jobs. Starting pay is lower as employers no longer find it necessary to offer inducements to get new workers.

The Federal Reserve Bank reports a decline in retail store sales on Oct. 17 for the fourth straight week from the corresponding weeks of 1952. Reduced sales are also reported by mail order houses and chain stores. This is one sure sign of lowered mass purchasing power.

J. B. Wallach, business news writer of the N. Y. World Telegram, reports that "one thought permeated the sessions this week of the 25th annual Boston Conference on Distribution — the U.S. must find ways to market its tremendously expanded output despite cuts in government spending and declines in exports. Speaker after speaker acknowledged that our vast productive capacity, a result of our determination to have guns as well as butter, is a cloud on the economic horizon. Should it back up, it was conceded, we're in for trouble."

This explains succinctly enough why American foreign policy continues along aggressive lines. The search for new markets for American products is preceded by diplomatic and military moves that range all around the entire world.

Speaking to the N. Y. Chapter of the Investment Bankers Association, Dr. G. Rowland Collins, dean of the School of Business of N. Y. University, predicted that the nation's business would decline enough to cause a fall in the Federal Reserve Index of industrial production from the September level of 234 to 200, or 15%. **The speaker affirmed that the capitalist business cycle is still with us — that is, that swings from depression to boom to depression have not been eliminated from the profit system. He was frankly pessimistic over the prospect of curing this condition with increases in population, "rolling adjustments" by business or government intervention.**

BACK TO "NORMAL"

Despite the facts cited above, leaders of Big Business hand out statements for public consumption that contain a note of "cautious" optimism. The Business Advisory Council of the Commerce Department, made up of top capitalists, "believes we are experiencing a moderate adjustment from an abnormal situation to a normal," according to Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co. Chairman John D. Biggers. To any capitalist, the prospect of several million unemployed workers looking for jobs is, of course, "normal."

Commenting on the divergent forecasts made by Dr. Collins, who predicts a 15% decline in business, and glass manufacturer Biggers, whose prediction is a 5% drop, the Wall Street Journal comes to the conclusion that it's all a hopeless riddle. It finds it is a "fiction that someone, somewhere, exists who is able to make correct predictions. . . Of course, there ain't no such animal." If this mouthpiece of Big Business has no confidence in capitalist predictions, the workers have all the more reason not to be guided by this contradictory guess-work.

THE REAL SITUATION

The real situation is one of over-production for the available market in almost all fields. Despite drought, the farm crop this year is once again crowding storage facilities. Stores and warehouses are more than amply stocked with every kind of manufactured goods. We are heading toward a crisis of a glut of materials on the market and rising unemployment and reduced pay. Despite huge government spending, the capitalist "fortress" of America is showing serious weaknesses.

The labor movement, taking note of these developments, has already begun to demand a shorter work week with no loss of take-home pay and other security measures such as the guaranteed annual wage. A number of CIO United Automobile Workers locals on the West Coast and the Illinois State Federation of Labor have recently declared for a 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay. This is the principle of the sliding scale of hours with no reduced income to keep every worker on the job earning an adequate union-scale income.

Steel Boss Spouts Off On 'Freedom'

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Clarence B. Randall's new book **Freedom's Faith**, which I reviewed last week, says, "We know so little about freedom. It is the most precious part of our heritage from the past, the very inner core of our greatness as a nation, yet its essence continues to elude us." The essence of freedom may elude the Chairman of Inland Steel, but I'm sure it doesn't elude the steelworkers or the rest of American labor.

Anyone who works eight hours a day **producing** the wealth of this country knows that freedom doesn't begin until after that eight hours is up. For one third of every working day, you do as the boss or the foreman tells you to do. The real freedom bell is the one that rings at the end of the shift.

Now this elementary and universal observation can lead us to the answer to Randall's perplexed question about the "essence of freedom." The first law of life is that man must produce the means of subsistence. Until the necessities are obtained there can be no talk of freedom. This precious stuff will be less "elusive" when working hours are reduced. And that is why socialism will mean more freedom for America, not less, as Randall claims. The system of "free enterprise" forces people to work longer hours, accept less freedom, despite the fact that the progress of science has made it possible to produce an abundance for everyone with much less labor.

Even the hours in which man must labor need not be oppressive if working conditions were democratically determined by the people who work instead of the profit-hungry bosses.

Now it's true that the American workers have fought for and won many democratic rights in their long history of struggle against the capitalists. But the rulers of this country today are trying to destroy even these advances in freedom. I'm referring to all the witch-hunt legislation and extra-legal practices that are fast destroying freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly. Mr. Randall is in the forefront of this assault on democracy. And he makes no bones about the fact that the real objective of the witch-hunt is the organized labor movement. "The new monopoly is that of labor, the new threat to freedom, both economic and personal, that of the union tycoons."

Randall isn't referring here to the bureaucratic rule of union officials and their tendency to conciliate with the bosses at the expense of the rank-and-file members He's talking about the union itself. The union's control of hiring, the union's fight against speed-up, the union's enforcement of upgrading through seniority lists, all this, according to Randall, "is alien to us. It is not America."

The growing power of the workers that is used today only to **share** in deciding the conditions under which they will work is regarded by Randall as a catastrophe. "Labor monopoly comes to its full power in the frightening modern phenomenon of the nation-wide strike."

When dealing with the ability of the workers to bargain for a freer life with such an effective weapon as the national strike, Randall rises to heights of oratorical wrath. "Where in all the long and selfish history of control of the many by the few, robber barons included, has there been anything to approximate the arrogance of these men as they cry, 'Stand and deliver,' to an entire nation? (This should read: to a handful of robber barons.) Monopoly? Who dares charge management with monopoly until this gross abuse is squarely faced?"

Anyone who thinks the radicals are the target of the witch hunt in America should listen carefully to the ravings of this steel boss. And then you will know, as you know that you must fill your lungs with air, that there cannot be freedom for both capitalists and workers. The freedom they want is to exploit the working class without interference for bigger and better profits. Our freedom can only impinge upon theirs. But we are the majority of humanity. They are a tiny minority.

SWP Candidates Wage Vigorous NY Campaign

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 — The aggressive city election campaign being waged by the Socialist Workers Party has enabled its candidates to bring the party's program to hundreds of thousands of voters.

Appearing on radio and television, at street meetings and forums, the SWP candidates David L. Weiss for Mayor, Catherine Gratta for President of the City Council, and Joyce Cowley for Comptroller are reaching an ever-wider audience in the closing days of the campaign.

Radio and TV time are being used to good advantage. An example was Weiss' appearance on Kate Smith's TV program, "The Cracker Barrel," a national hook-up. The SWP candidate launched a hard-hitting 15-minute attack on the war program of American capitalism to an audience which regularly numbers 5,000,000.

Appearing with other mayoralty candidates on radio station WEVD, named after Eugene Victor Debs, Weiss pointed out that 18 leaders of the SWP, during the second world war, had been railroaded to prison for their opposition to imperialist war, just as Debs had been imprisoned for the same reason in World War I.

FIGHT FOR AIR TIME

These and numerous other programs were obtained after long drawn-out contests with the giant radio and TV corporations which sought to deny the SWP candidates free time as required by the FCC if other candidates had received such time.

At a meeting sponsored by a Stalinist-led Compass Club, a spokesman for Weiss fought for and got the floor by a majority hand-vote despite the empty threat of the chairman to "expose you and your party to the membership."

STREET MEETINGS

Successful street meetings are being held in Harlem and other **working-class areas in Manhattan** and in Brooklyn. Listeners often remain and discuss the SWP program long after the loudspeaker permit expires. Literature, including a special campaign issue of the **Militant**, is being distributed and sold at political rallies and union meetings throughout the city.

NEW YORK
Christmas Bazaar!
Featuring new clothes for women below cost.
Bargains in objects of art, children's clothes and toys, perfumes, new and rare books, made-to-order belts and many other articles.
Sat., Nov. 28 from noon on
Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Refreshments

Open Letter to Leaders of Chinese Communist Party

(The following open letter from Peng Shu-tze to the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, protesting the persecution of followers of Leon Trotsky in China, was written April 14, 1953. Peng Shu-tze, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1920, was a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the CCP and editor-in-chief of the central party publication during the Second Chinese Revolution (1925-27). In the summer of 1929, he decided to support Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism and together with Chen Tu-hsiu organized the Left Opposition of the CCP. In the fall of 1932 he was arrested by Chiang Kai-shek's government, and sentenced to eight years imprisonment on the false charge of endangering the security of the Republic of China. After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, he was released. He has been the acknowledged leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement since then. — Ed.)

In the recent two years, I have repeatedly received news from comrades on the mainland, reporting the incessant persecutions your party has inflicted on our comrades; the steady pursuit and surveillance, searches, arrests, imprisonment and even killings by your secret agents. For instance, in the fall of 1949, several dozen comrades were arrested in Shanghai and Wenchow. Two of them were executed. In 1950, a similar group in he cities of Kweilin and Liuchow of Kwangsi Province, Chunsan District and other parts of Kwantung Province were arrested, and several of them shot. Even I too was threatened with assassination by secret agents of yours who came to my home January 22, 1952.

The detailed report received recently is particularly shocking: In the dead of night last Dec. 22 and Jan. 8 of this year, your party launched wholesale arrests of Trotskyists simultaneously in Shanghai, Canton, Peking, Chungking and other regions, and the number of arrests reached several hundred!

Even the wives, brothers, sisters, relatives, friends and sympathizers of the comrades were not spared. As in previous instances, these wholesale arrests were carried out without juridical sanction. The victims have never appeared in court. Once arrested, they disappeared completely. No one knows their fate.

I am thus obliged to lodge the strongest possible protest with your party on behalf of the Chinese Trotskyists.

Why the Secrecy?

First of all, I must ask: By what right or under what "charges" do you so brutally and systematically attack and persecute the Trotskyists? And, even if you had any shred of "proofs" which obliged you to "suppress the Trotskyists," you were duty bound to proclaim them to the masses and the public, to proceed with open arrests and trials, so that the arrested and persecuted could exercise their right of appeal and defense. Why do you deal with them in utter secrecy? Since taking power, your party has become the ruling party and has enacted innumerable laws. Why have you not proceeded according to your own laws?

Judging from your consistent attitude and propaganda towards us, it seems that you assume that the Trotskyists' ideas and views differ greatly from yours, are "extremely dangerous," even "counter-revolutionary," and "should be especially severely suppressed."

Of course, I would never deny that since the defeat of the Second Revolution (1925-1927), whether in regard to the lessons of this defeat, or in fundamental attitude toward the bourgeois Kuomintang and imperialism, or the relationship between the democratic revolution and socialist revolution in China (i.e., the theory of the Permanent Revolution versus the theory of Revolution by Stages), or the problems of strategy in a number of important events (such as the Resistance War against Japan and the Second World War), serious differences still exist. But as to who was right and who was wrong, historical fact has determined. In certain respects, under pressure of objective circumstances, you, acting empirically, have made important changes and revisions.

For instance, after Japanese imperialism capitulated and the Second World War came to an end, the extremely corrupt Chiang Kai-shek government was actually already tottering. The conjuncture was most favorable for mobilizing the broad worker and peasant masses under a revolutionary program in preparation for the overthrow of Chiang's government and the establishment of a revolutionary power. But your party had entirely given up the revolutionary program, including agrarian reform, the eight-hour day, national independence, etc. Under the blandishments and persuasion of American imperialism, represented by Marshall, you engaged in continuous and prolonged compromise peace negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, this counter-revolutionary butcher, in hope of establishing "a Coalition Government" and thus moving toward "construction of a New China."

Meanwhile, we criticized and warned you that your opportunist compromise policy not only would lead nowhere, but would let slip the revolutionary conjuncture and help Chiang Kai-shek gain time to stabilize his most shaky position, and plot his military preparatin to launch an all-out attack on your party. Read "Our Views on the Present Situation," published in December 1945.) Unfortunately, the development of the events completely verified our criticism and warning.

Policies of Mao Tse-Tung

Later when the peace negotiations failed completely and Chiang Kai-shek had already started his military offensive you were obliged to once more propose land reform, and finally overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime on the mainland by military means. This is indeed a tremendous political turn for your party since your "second collaboration" with the Kuomintang beginning in 1937. The victory of today is precisely due to this turn. We consider your "revision" of your previous compromise policy with Chiang Kai-shek not only a decisive turn in your party's politics but also a historical leap in the development of the Chinese Revolution.

Yet, after your party had overthrown Chiang Kai-shek's regime, you did not proceed directly to the establishment of a worker-peasant soviet government of the proletariat leading the peasants, relying on the revolutionary forces of worker and peasant masses, but on the contrary, with all the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties and factions except Chiang's clique you formed a "United Front" (in the form of the "Political Consultative Conference"), established the so-called "Coalition Government," or "People's Democratic Dictatorship" with the participation of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. **This is entirely in violation of the essential teachings of Marx-Leninism and the tradition of the October Revolution.**

On the land problem, you have carried out confiscation of the land and distributed it to the peasants. You have also secured considerable political independence from imperialism. These are important gains on the revolutionary road. But, through your decrees, landlords and rich peasants are still legally entitled to preserve their "industrial and commercial properties," and you have openly declared that imperialist properties in China will be protected. Not only is this not thoroughgoing; it has become a great obstacle to further development of the revolution.

Above all, since you did not immediately confiscate and nationalize the means of production and bourgeois private property as the first step in the direction of socialism, but instead granted them legal protection, this has made it possible for the bourgeoisie to sabotage the realization of national economic construction today. Moreover the bourgeoisie is left with a material basis that can enable it to restore its counter-revolutionary rule.

Most important and decisive for revolutionary perspectives is the following fact: Your party which claims to represent the workers and the peasants, and which particularly exalts the worker as its "Master," has in practice done its best to restrict the workers and peasants and limit their democratic rights, especially the revolutionary activities of the worker masses. They are not allowed to directly elect their own representatives to form councils or a Congress of workers and peasants to supervise and control the state administration and all organizations of production. Even the representatives of trade unions and peasant associations are for the most part appointed. In addition, the workers are deprived of the right to defend themselves by strike action against capitalist exploitation. Hence the current bureaucratic abuses and despotism. This situation will inevitably sap the revolutionary initiative and the vigor of the worker and peasant masses and act as a brake to the further development of the revolution towards ultimate victory.

Notwithstanding all the serious differences in our views as stated above, we Trotskyists, conscious of our revolutionary responsibilities, approve and support to the best of our ability the revolutionary conquests which you have already arrived at, such as the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the agrarian reform. We have participated in all the progressive movements and campaigns initiated by your party, such as the campaign to liquidate the remaining forces of Chiang Kai-shek, the land reform movement, the campaign against American Aid to Korea, etc. And we are ready to defend with all our might these same revolutionary conquests against aggression from any imperialism, especially American imperialism and its lackey, Chiang Kai-shek.

Record of the Trotskyists

To undertake our responsibilities to the revolution regardless of differences in political opinion — that is our attitude. This can be proved by examining the practical activity in the past years of the comrades you have arrested. Not a few of them have been openly praised in your papers on account of their hard work and self-sacrifice in various campaigns and movements. It is likewise clearly demonstrated by the public position and actions of the various sections of the Fourth International.

In the United States, where there is no section of the Fourth International, the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Trotskyist paper, the **Militant**, have incessantly opposed American imperialism in its support of Chiang Kai-shek and its aggression in Korea. The American Trotskyists publicly demand that the United States recognize your "People's Government." They oppose the preparations for a Third World War aimed at the Soviet Union and China, etc.

Dictator

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The Trotskyists in Ceylon have not only been propagandizing in general in favor of and in support of the revolutionary movement you head, but their representatives in parliament have further proposed to the Ceylon government that it reach a trade agreement with your government, and are vigorously pressing this move ahead to success. At your Peace Conference in Peking last November, their delegates openly and resolutely called on the worker and peasant masses of all countries to defend the revolution headed by you against aggression from imperialism.

Here, I must call your attention particularly to the following facts: For these 25 years, we Trotskyists have carried through the most resolute struggle for the national independence of China, for the liberation of the proletariat and peasant masses, for a socialist perspective; against the imperialist invasion, against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, and against capitalist and landlord exploitation and oppression of the workers and peasants.

It is precisely because of this struggle that our comrades suffered the most brutal persecution from all reactionary forces. Many of them were killed by the imperialists, especially the Japanese, by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Chin-wei. Many other comrades passed long painful years together with your comrades in the prisons of our common enemies. Comrade In-Kwan, whom you arrested two years ago, and Comrade Cheng Chao-lin, just recently arrested, are among those who were imprisoned together with your comrades for a number of years in Chiang Kai-shek's dungeons. And I, too, once spent three years in the same cell in the prison at Nanking where your comrade Niu-lain (then deputy of the Comintern to China) was held. Even today, we have not a few comrades still imprisoned by Chiang Kai-shek on the island of Formosa.

While you are at present engaged in a decisive battle with American imperialism and its puppet Chiang Kai-shek, the reactionary landlords, and partially against the capitalists, by what reason are you justified in so ruthlessly persecuting the most resolute fighters on the same front, the Trotskyists?

Stalin's Frame-Up System

Let me remind you in particular that your party is now agitating for a "United Front" against the aggression of "American Imperialism and the Bandit Chiang." This "United Front" includes all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties and factions (such as those collected in your "Political Consultative Conference"); further, even such hangmen of the Second Revolution as Li Chi-sun, Yang Hu, and the partisans of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule such as Chen Chien, and Lung Yung, are placed in top posts in your government.

At the same time you are especially intolerant of revolutionary Trotskyists. You refuse to permit them to serve the revolution and to struggle for the interests of the vast worker and peasant masses within the movement that is under your leadership. How explain this grotesque phenomenon? **If it is not aimed at injuring the revolutionary left-wing to please the reactionary right opportunists, it only demonstrates that you are consciously or unconsciously reflecting the pressure of the Kremlin. What cutting irony this presents in the movement under your leadership!**

Since Lenin's death, Stalin has eliminated step by step the whole generation of old Bolsheviks and massacred the first great leaders of the October Revolution. He was particularly hostile to the revolutionary thought and positions represented by Trotsky, and hence would not spare any means to calumniate, to smear, to frame him up with the most hideous "counter-revolutionary crimes" in order to persecute him and his partisans and supporters. The atmosphere of extraordinary hostility thus created still prevails in the USSR and the Communist parties of various countries. Your previous and present hostility and persecution towards our comrades is undoubtedly fruit of this vicious and poisonous tradition of Stalin's bureaucracy.

However, in the brief period since Stalin's death, under pressure of the increasingly acute international situation and the accumulating dissatisfaction of the masses, his successors, beginning to feel uneasy about the criminal persecutions under Stalin's rule for which they bear guilt, have even openly exposed the charges against the 15 doctors previously arrested by the Ministry of Public Security as complete "frame-ups" and have also revealed the persecutions inflicted on the workers by the Party and Bureau of Public Security in Georgia.

This signifies that Stalin's successive big trials in the past were all frame-ups concocted to eliminate his adversaries. It also reveals that the whole GPU regime created by Stalin is beginning to collapse. All this deserves your special attention and should prompt you to correct your position.

Position of the Chinese Trotskyists

All the conquests which you have already obtained in this revolution — the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule, the carrying out of land reform, the struggle for national independence . . . are really great and monumental. You should be proud of them. But you must also be clear and alert to the fact that these achievements are still far from the goal of ultimate triumph.

Obstructions bar the way. The influence of the bourgeoisie in the country is still generally intact. The greater part of the national borders are still surrounded by mercenary armed forces of imperialism. Above all the Third World War is being prepared at accelerated speed by American imperialism with the USSR and China as main targets.

In this situation, to overcome all internal and external dangers and obstacles, to resist and crush the coming general offensive of American imperialism, you should be extremely calm and watchful and consider all the fundamental problems of the revolution without prejudice.

You should stand on the fundamental position of the historic interests of the Chinese proletariat and poor peasant masses and the world socialist revolution. You should free yourselves immediately from the yoke of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

First of all it is necessary to change entirely the present bureaucratic centralist system and replace it with genuine proletarian democracy. It is necessary to trust and rely unreservedly on the revolutionary initiative of the worker and peasant masses. They must have complete freedom to fully express their own opinions and aspirations, to carry out their revolutionary struggles to the fullest extent, and to democratically elect without delay their own representative organizations — soviets (councils) to replace the present four-class "Coalition Government." (The universally elected People's conference of all classes now being prepared by you is not able to create a genuine democratic centralist system.) It is necessary to confiscate all the means of production now held by the bourgeoisie as a step forward on the road to socialist construction.

On the international plane, you should discard whatever sectarian attitude you have, support and unite with all workers revolutionary parties and organizations in different countries in the struggle to overthrow the rule of reaction and to conquer power in these countries as the alternative to today's "peace" campaigns. Only if the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all the exploited throughout the world, and especially in the advanced capitalist countries, grows and wins victory can the outbreak of the Third World War possibly be prevented, or the attempted aggression of American imperialism be smashed in the course of the war.

Free all the arrested Trotskyists! Let the Trotskyists and all other parties organized in the name of the workers have complete democratic freedom to express revolutionary ideas and to criticize your current policy in order to push the revolution forward in propitious development.

Personally, I together with some comrades among you, was responsible for carrying out Stalin's opportunist policy in the Second Revolution. This resulted in the most tragic defeat. It is precisely from that bitter experience that I have since understood most profoundly the disastrous effects of a revolutionary defeat and its lessons. For this reason, I am not willing to see the present revolution under your leadership wrecked midway, and the worker and peasant masses shed blood in vain.

If you could cast off Stalin's bureaucratism and opportunism and return to the position of Marx-Leninism and the tradition of the October Revolution, I would exert all my efforts to support you and cooperate with you in pushing this revolution forward to ultimate completion.

Chen Tu-hsiu (l.), who died in 1942, devoted his life to the struggle for Chinese emancipation. He was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, later joined the Trotskyist opposition and spent five years in Chiang Kai-shek's torture prisons. In an effort to expunge the memory of this valiant revolutionist, the Mao regime has blown up his grave, shown right with Chen Tu-hsiu's widow beside it.

Radio, TV Schedule Of SWP Candidates

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 — David L. Weiss, Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate, speaks over radio station WLIB, Oct. 30, 5:45 P.M. He will be interviewed the same night, 11 P.M., on the Barry Gray TV program, Channel 5.

Weiss and Joyce Cowley, candidate for Comptroller, are on the Barry Gray WMCA radio program, Oct. 31, midnight. Weiss appears with the other mayoralty candidates Nov. 1, from 1 to 2 P.M., over WNBC's "Searchlight" radio program.

Ethel Weiss participates with the wives of all mayoralty candidates on CBS-TV, Channel 2, at 3 P.M., Oct. 31.

A Texas oil man named Earhart made the following complaint to Houston school authorities: "How do they expect a youth to get an education when they don't provide parking facilities for his car. Often my boy has had to walk two or three blocks to get to school."

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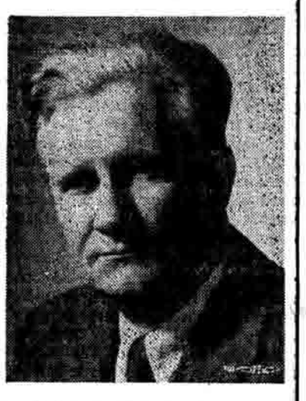

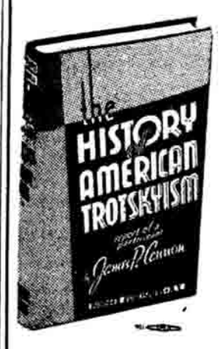

This book is indispensable reading on this 25th Anniversary, for an understanding of the role of Trotskyism in the American labor movement

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Why Wait for a Labor Party?

Last week David Beck, President of the AFL Teamsters Union, made some strong statements at a National Press Club luncheon. He said, "Those who seek to put the chains of the Taft-Hartley Act and other anti-union legislation around labor will live to see the day when American Labor will follow England's (example) and tie progress to political action."

This was a threat to Big Business. He asked them if they wanted to pay such a price in exchange for "the momentary and minor advantages of anti-union legislation." To reinforce his threat Beck declared: "Don't tell me that a labor movement of 16,000,000 workers can't develop a political machine."

Why threaten and why wait? Does Beck think that Big Business will call off the dogs on the basis of the mere hint that the labor officials may break with the policy of supporting the capitalist political parties? After all, the Democratic and Republican parties have good evidence that the labor leaders like Beck will take anything rather than release the political power of American labor for independent action.

Hasn't labor been sold down the river time and again by both capitalist parties? And haven't the labor officials threatened before? Beck refers correctly to the symptomatic importance of the recent vote in Wisconsin. When a Democrat won in a traditionally Republican district the high command of the Republican party were thrown into panic. "Ike went out of the White House," says Beck, "faster than Paul Revere jumped on his horse."

Beck imagines that the solution is for the workers to follow the lead of the Wisconsin farmers and vote Democrat in the next election. He is barking up the wrong tree. The Wisconsin farmers didn't vote for the Democrats but rather against the Republicans. The Gallup polls show that Eisenhower's popularity went down 10% this month. Less than a year ago the Democrats suffered a catastrophic decline in popularity among the people in the country.

To keep jumping back and forth from the Democratic frying pan into the Republican fire is a losing game. The labor officials may want to keep it up, but in our opinion the workers are going to put a stop to it.

Big Business is fully aware of the risks it is taking in trying to choke the labor movement to death with legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act. But it sees no alternative. Signs of depression and the needs of the war drive force its hand. The ruling billionaires must prepare to deal with the threat of mass radicalization which will inevitably arise from either depression or war.

The labor officials are afraid that a bold policy of independent class politics contains the danger of a run-away movement. Once the workers embark on the road of a Labor Party the program of revolutionary socialism will make rapid progress in the party.

But the fear of the labor bureaucracy cannot long retard the movement. One of these days the threats of a Beck to form a Labor Party will be taken up by the workers and put into action. Such a prospect is not far off because the alternative has narrowed down. It is either fight with independent political action or allow Big Business to cut the labor movement to ribbons. We have no doubt which course the workers will take.

Next in Line for the Witch Hunt

Business Week of Oct. 24 brings some glad tidings to the anti-labor industrialists: "Getting rid of a Communist sympathizer can be a sticky business. But developments last week will ease the situation considerably — even though, technically speaking, these developments concern only government employment." The developments **Business Week** speaks of is President Eisenhower's "executive order making it a discharge offense for a federal employee to refuse to testify before a Congressional committee on the ground of possible self-incrimination."

The article then proceeds to discuss the question of framing and hounding private industry workers for their political beliefs as if it were discussing the problem of slaughtering and marketing cattle. The reasoning is simple. The ability of private employers to fire "subversives" has been dependent on what **Business Week** calls "public opinion." They trace the rulings of the arbitrators in cases involving such victimizations and demonstrate that "both the National Labor Relations Board and arbitrators have shown a tendency to follow public opinion in deciding on case-by-case discharges."

"Public opinion," according to these people, is the degree of witch-hunt hysteria in the country. From this standpoint they believe that Eisenhower's order will create the proper climate for moving in on the rights of union workers in private industry. They show how "in the wake of last week's developments, the NLRB has cancelled the bargaining rights of Local 214 of the Fur and Leather Workers Union of Cincinnati." In this case a whole union local is given the treatment on the basis of the shift in "public opinion," that is, the "public opinion" of Eisenhower.

This new incentive for thought-control terror in the factories is a mortal danger to the security of the labor movement. What is a "subversive," according to an anti-labor employer? Is there any doubt that the barons of American industry regard anyone who believes that the workers have any rights is a "damned communist." And under the guidance of "public opinion" what is to prevent employers from getting rid of shop committeemen and stewards who have long been a thorn in their side?

The rule of the witch-hunting inquisition is that all definitions, all rules of evidence, all rights to be judge, jury and executioner are concentrated in the hands of the inquisitors. Now this inquisitional power is being broadened. Individual employers throughout the country will be given a clear go-ahead signal and union contracts will become so many scraps of paper.

That's the real prospect unless the unions start fighting back right now.

Stalinists Back Wagner, Tammany's Candidate

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Oct. 28 — The Communist Party in New York is giving its support in the mayoralty election to the Democratic Party candidate, Robert F. Wagner, Jr., thus abandoning all pretense of working for a third party completely independent of the old capitalist parties. This important development of the Stalinist line has been executed in the usual double-dealing fashion and at the expense of the American Labor Party, the New York section of the Progressive Party. The Communist Party has backed the ALP in past elections and was supposedly backing it in this mayoralty campaign.

Leaders of the ALP blasted the Stalinists for their hypocritical role in the election, taking as a point of departure the editorial in the Oct. 22 **Daily Worker**. This editorial, in a weasel-worded formula, urged New York trade unionists to vote for Wagner, the Tammany candidate for mayor, and to vote for ALP candidates only for minor city offices.

ALP LEADERS ANSWER

Refusing to acquiesce in an endorsement that involves the political knifing of their main candidate, 14 ALP candidates for offices less than mayor issued the following statement:

"In this (**Daily Worker**) editorial, members of labor unions are now openly advised to vote for Wagner and then for the rest of the ALP ticket. We urge ALP voters and trade unionists to reject this advice. . . We further declare that the only manner in which the American Labor Party can be strengthened is by voting for Mr. McAvoy (ALP candidate for mayor). Votes for us as candidates are secondary to the vote for Mr. McAvoy."

DAILY WORKER LINE

The role of the Stalinists in the mayoralty campaign is one of double dealing. While they are on record as formally supporting the ALP, the ALP leaders first accused them of building up Halley, the Democrat who is running on the Liberal Party ticket, and more recently of backing Wagner, the official Democratic candidate. The **Daily Worker** gives great prominence to Wagner's campaign and lists his rallies, radio speeches etc.

The editorial line of the **Daily Worker** is that a "people's coalition" should be created to stop Riegelman, the Republican candidate. The manifestation of this "people's coalition" in New York, it claims, is the CIO leader's endorsement of Tammany's candidate, Wagner. The **Daily Worker** editorial which urges labor support for Wagner and the minor candidates of the ALP, also warns the ALP that the 1954 elections "will require a coalition policy on the part of the ALP itself."

Before the beginning of the cold war, the ALP, under Stalinist control, followed a policy of endorsing Democratic and Republican candidates, such as former Mayor O'Dwyer. With the intensification of the witch hunt the politicians of the Big Business parties have refused to accept ALP endorsement and the ALP has run independent candidates.

The present open break between the ALP and the **Daily Worker** shows that the Marcantonio forces control the machinery of the ALP and that the Stalinists are considering destruction of the ALP or, if they can't accomplish that, pulling out of the organization.

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Malenkov's Promises of "Abundance"

By John G. Wright

When Malenkov-Khruschev & Co. admit that there is a "definite disproportion" between Soviet industry and agriculture and that this condition already "retards the further development of light and food industries," they are not exaggerating the existing Soviet reality, but minimizing it. Let us explain.

To establish the existing "lag" between agriculture and industry, Khruschev carefully refrained from comparing the gross output of industry and its growth in the post-war years as against the gross output of agriculture and its relative stagnation or decline in the same period. The Kremlin liars chose instead to estimate the existing disproportion in terms of "comparable prices," that is, an artificial index that would give them the most favorable results. And yet according to Khruschev's obviously manipulated figures, Soviet agriculture as a whole has expanded since 1940 by only 10%. This gives an annual rate of growth over a period of the past 12 years of less than one percent.

Meanwhile, during the same years, industry as a whole has recorded a growth of 230%, or almost 20% annually. In other words industrial expansion has far outstripped agricultural growth. The disproportion here is on the order of more than 20-to-1, that is, industry has been growing more than twenty times as fast as agriculture.

Instead of providing a sufficient base for feeding the cities and supplying factories with raw materials, as Malenkov claimed last October, just the opposite is true of Soviet agriculture. It actually provides a far too narrow base.

BIG INDUSTRY AFFECTED

In passing let us note one of the minor falsifications of the Kremlin liars. They pretend that that agricultural lag affects only "the further development of light and food industries." The truth is that the industrial and oil-bearing crops supply not merely the light and food industries but heavy industry as well. Such key branches as the chemical industry, the rubber industry and others are directly dependent on agriculture. The admitted low yields of industrial and oil-bearing crops and the rate of growth claimed by the regime are critically below the growing requirements of industry as a whole.

The dependence of Soviet industry, light and heavy alike, upon agriculture is underscored by the fact that roughly two-fifths of the total agricultural output consists of industrial crops. "At the present time," boasted Malenkov last October, "industrial crops account for more than 40% of the total value of marketable field crops."

Czarist Russia never knew such production of industrial crops; but Czarist Russia never possessed the industry requiring such agricultural production. **Comparisons with Czarist Russia simply demonstrate the colossal superiority of the new productive relations — nationalized property and planned economy — conquered by the 1917 Revolution.**

The bureaucracy sharply reduces the efficiency of planning; it wastes and consumes an enormous share of the annual supplies. This is shown most graphically by the failure of agriculture, under Stalinist rule and management, to keep pace with the needs of Soviet life. Soviet agriculture has lagged far behind the stormy expansion of industry.

LAGS BEHIND POPULATION

But that is not all. Soviet agriculture has also failed to keep pace with the increase of Soviet population. Some 170 million in prewar days, the population of the Soviet Union exceeds 200 million today. This is a rate of growth of almost 20%, or double that claimed for agriculture. In other words, per capita production in agriculture has declined since prewar days.

Soviet agriculture has lagged even more critically behind the growth of the urban population. This has risen from 61 million in

MALENKOV

1940 to 80 million in 1952, or a growth of over 30%. There are almost 20 million more city dwellers to be fed today than there were in prewar days.

With many more factories and machines clamoring for raw materials, agricultural output per factory, per machine has declined in recent years; with the population growing annually, the production of food per capita has likewise been declining; finally, this lag is most pronounced in terms of the growth of the urban population, which has been expanding three times as fast as the claimed growth of agriculture.

The official fiction is that it is necessary to pull up agriculture to assure "abundance." The truth is: A sharp upturn of agriculture is required immediately simply to assure levels previously attained for supplying the factories, the cities and the population as a whole.

MALENKOV'S CLAIMS

Soviet agriculture is large-scale and highly mechanized. The whole tenor of Malenkov's report last October was that Soviet agriculture had become qualitatively different and far more productive than the small-scale agriculture of Czarist days. Millions of more acres are under cultivation. The total cultivated area for "all agricultural crops in the USSR in 1952 is 1.4 times more than in 1913," Malenkov stressed last year. He added that mechanization of agriculture has increased above prewar levels by 59% for tractors and by 51% for harvester combines.

The latest Moscow figures claim even more. According to the Sept. 22 **Pravda** there now are 969,000 tractors, "or 74% more than prewar," and 255,000 harvester combines, "or 66% more than in 1940." In other words, rapid progress in mechanization within the space of a single year.

The amalgamation of collective farms has meanwhile continued. Since Jan. 1, 1950 the 254,000 small collective farms had been consolidated into "97,000 collective farms," Malenkov reported last year. Less than a year later, in September 1953, Khruschev reported "94,000 amalgamated collectives," or three thousand fewer than before. The average Soviet collective is larger than ever. Khruschev's figure is 1,693 hectares (or over 4,000 acres) of ploughland alone per average farm.

Allowing for the Kremlin's notorious exaggerations, such an agriculture ought without difficulty to produce enough food for the cities and raw materials for industry. It has not; it does not.

NEGLECT AND WASTE

The machines are there, but how are they utilized? "The main shortcoming in the work of the Machine and Tractor Stations is the absolutely unsatisfactory utilization of equipment," Khruschev admitted. He also disclosed that two-thirds of the tractor drivers failed to fulfill their shift production quotas in 1952. In other words, two-thirds of the machines remained idle partly or entirely for one reason or another.

There is lack of spare parts, of fuel and fuel-storage facilities, of repair shops, garages, sheds "and other production buildings and service establishments for the personnel," including "a water-supply system and elementary sewerage," the September Plenum decision admits.

What a commentary it is upon the regime that it is itself forced to admit a "serious disproportion has developed in the MTS between the level of equipping them with complex agricultural machinery and the production and technical facilities for repairing and protecting the machinery."

In effect, a special four-year plan has been found necessary to make up for the years of bureaucratic neglect and waste. From 1953 to 1956, this plan calls for the "construction and commissioning" of almost 5,000 repair shops, 8,400 garages for tractors, 24,530 sheds and shelters for combines and other machines plus "15,000 open concrete platforms for agricultural machinery, 2,880 oil-supply centers, 3,600 automobile garages and 3,600 stores for spare parts."

According to Khruschev there are, all told, 8,950 Machine and Tractor Stations. From the figures cited above it is clear that not "many," as the official documents say, but MOST of them lack the minimum necessary facilities; and it will take the next four years to make good this lack of "workshops, garages, sheds and other productive buildings."

MEANING OF "ABUNDANCE"

The struggle for "abundance" thus turns out to be the struggle "to establish that each MTS and specialized station shall, as a rule, have a standard repair shop . . . not less than two or three garages for tractors, two or three sheds for combines and the necessary number of shelters and open concrete platforms for agricultural machinery, an oil-supply base, an automobile garage, store room for spare parts, an office, a water-supply system and elementary sewerage." **Such is one of the results of a quarter of a century of Stalinist collectivization.**

In the face of this admitted situation in the MTS, promises of future abundance have a rather suspicious ring. Only a fool or a rascal would deny that such promises are obviously intended to cover up serious existing shortages, particularly in livestock, in potatoes and vegetables. We also suggest that such promises of "abundance" provide a convenient cover for the concessions made to individualist, restorationist elements by the Malenkov regime.

East German Struggle-- Is It Being Softened?

(Continued from page 1)

productivity in consumer goods with the promise that this will improve living conditions for the workers. Second, instead of the regime setting quotas for the increase in work norms as they did prior to June 17, factories are asked to set their own figures. True, this is only a formality. The bureaucratic machine pushes through its proposals at factory meetings in an atmosphere of police terror. But the shift in formal method indicates the apprehensions of the Stalinists.

IS STRUGGLE SOFTENING?

Do the recent price concessions indicate a softening of the struggle between the workers and the Stalinist bureaucrats? By no means. A mass political uprising of the working class is not quelled by such methods. It is not possible to put an end to the movement by tossing it an extra ration of food, cajoling it or beating it into submission.

The East German workers began a political revolution against the Stalinist autocracy on June 17. The basic demand of the workers is for political freedom. This means the smashing of the Stalinist police state. To this demand the Stalinists will not yield an inch.

All the rifts, splits, faction struggles and purges in the bureaucracy since June 17 pivot around the question of how to contain the mass struggle and crush it. Out of the whole confused picture of inner bureaucratic divisions one fact emerges: That the fundamental reflex of the Stalinist regime in the face of the mass assault was to fall back on the method of the iron fist.

OFFENSIVE ON WORKERS

The native East German Stalinist bureaucracy could not deal with the mass uprising. It could rely only on the armed forces of the Kremlin. But as it attempts to rebuild its structure it is clear that it places no reliance on winning the masses. Since June they have been conducting an offensive against the political rights of the workers under cover of the Kremlin army.

Spy trials have taken place in six parts of East Germany. Fifty-two have been arrested and tried. Since every worker who played an active role on June 17 is labeled a "spy," it is impossible to place any confidence in the Stalinist frame-up procedure. There is moreover the usual abundance of vague charges and scarcity of evidence.

VAST PURGE ON

The spy trials, with their savage death sentences and long imprisonments, are only the most spectacular manifestations of the anti-working-class offensive of the Stalinists. There is the vast purge of the trade unions and the factories and the purge of the Stalinist party itself.

The purge of the party has descended step by step to the lower units. Now the plan is to create a privileged elite of 200,000 out of a membership of 1,230,000. In effect this purges 1,000,000 party members in one broad sweep!

The new elite party will be selected from the stoolpigeons, scabs and lackeys who "passed the test of June 17." They will be armed, trained and used as a special repressive force. Thus the Stalinist attempt to create a base of support only reveals how isolated it has become from the masses. It cannot place any confidence in one million members of its own party!

The East German workers know all this. They are aware of the fact that the Stalinists will not meet their political demands. They know the Stalinists are preparing to meet the next upsurge with blood and iron. The workers bide their time. They fight on issues that mobilize the broadest mass in struggle. They move cautiously but steadily towards a new showdown. At the first sign of a crisis in the ruling structure we may expect them to strike with all their force.

NEW UPSURGE ON WAY

A crisis will not be long in coming. The world system of Stalinism is shaken by the revolutionary earthquakes in every corner of the globe. New cracks and fissures will appear in the Stalinist monolithism. And with the next onslaught of the East German workers the inner crisis of Stalinism will deepen. This will provide new openings for the mass political upsurge in all of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Under these conditions the ability of the Kremlin to use the Soviet Army as a counter-revolutionary force will be greatly impaired. In place of the Army dominated by the treacherous Kremlin gang, the army of the revolution, the kind of army that was built by Leon Trotsky, will be recreated.

These are the perspectives opened up by the East German revolution. They are perspectives that reinforce the prospect of victory of world socialism over capitalism. Because the victory over capitalism cannot be attained as long as the Stalinist traitors stand at the head of the workers movement and the workers states.

BUFFALO COPS SAVAGELY BEAT UP TWO NEGROES

(Continued from page 1)

be vouched for by anybody — neighbors, employers, merchants, or pastor.

A cynical police guard at the hospital had been heard to say, "Well, what were those guys doing on that corner anyway?" As Mrs. Daniels told me about this she could hardly contain her indignation.

BIG INTERSECTION

"Where did they expect them to be? That corner (where the men were beaten) is a big intersection. It has two all-night restaurants, a tavern, some stores, and a bus transfer point. It's in the Negro district. Where else have colored people got to go? Restrictive covenants keep them from living anywhere else in the city. The whites should be made to realize that!"

"I've noticed," she commented, "that only labor people want our side of the story. There have been no Republicans or Democrats here so far."

Mrs. Daniels' spirit and optimism were inspiring. They made one more determined than ever to work to rid the city of such injustices as had happened to the Daniels brothers.

After spending ten days in the hospital, Norman and James Daniels were brought directly to court. They were charged with second-degree assault. Bail was set at a fantastic $15,000 each, and when they were unable to post bail they were committed to the county jail. Their hearings were postponed until Oct. 28.

Tan Malaka Party Votes No Confidence

Indonesian Premier Dr. Ali Sastroamijoyo boasts of an overwhelming vote of confidence received in Parliament Sept. 10. The vote was 122 to 84. The confidence vote came from right and center parties as well as the Stalinists.

Tan Malaka's Partai Murba voted no confidence according to Indonesian Information Office report Sept. 21, "on the grounds that the government had not clearly demonstrated that it would immediately go ahead with a quick dissolution of the Indonesia-Netherlands Union."

The CIO NEWS says there's no truth to the story that the walls of government buildings in Washington are chalked with signs saying, "Republicans Go Home."

LABOR, LIBERAL LEADERS HIT POLICE-STATE LAW

(Continued from page 1)

Wilson on the afternoon of the hearing as highly "improper and prejudicial to the appeals to which we are entitled even under the Air Force procedures."

Lockwood pledged every effort to carry the case into the federal courts. The biggest ovation of the evening greeted the introduction of the father and brother of Lieut. Radulovich who were in the audience.

COMMITTEE'S WORK

Walter Bergman, Detroit educator who last summer encountered passport difficulties while in Europe largely because of his association with the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, was unable to speak because of illness.

Ernest Mazey reported on the work of the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law under the leadership of its temporary officers. He traced its fight from the first day when the law was passed as an aftermath of hearings here by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He contrasted the bold, arrogant attitude of state officials immediately after passage of the law, when they threatened mass round-ups of alleged "subversives" and deprived the Socialist Workers Party of its ballot rights in the 1952 elections, with their later retreat under pressure. He described how the state officials amended the law following institution of court suits challenging the law's constitutionality by the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party.

The chief public pressure was brought to bear by the efforts of the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, which was formed by some 200 prominent Michigan citizens, including leading labor, liberal, civic, educational and religious figures.

STATE'S DILEMMA

Ernest Mazey pointed out that while amendments providing hearing procedures and other changes altered nothing fundamentally in the law, this must be considered the first partial victory in the fight to remove the law altogether.

He reported that the state finds itself on the horns of a dilemma in the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party in Judge Lila Nuenfelt's court. If the state now decides that the SWP does not come under the law or is entitled to a hearing under the amended law before it can be made subject to the law's provisions, the state must admit its original action against the SWP's ballot rights was in error. If state officials attempt to defend their original action, they face far greater obstacles to winning court approval for their police-state legislation.

The Socialist Workers Party and its attorneys are awaiting a state answer, long overdue, to their amended bill of complaint. From many indications, the state desires to get the SWP suit out of court in order to proceed with a court test of the law confined to the Communist Party suit, which has far more limited support.

The Citizens' Committee from its inception has lent its support to the SWP court test because of the arbitrary inclusion of that party under the law and the denial of its ballot rights. Moreover, the Committee felt that the SWP case lent itself to mobilization of far broader support to test the law's constitutionality.

OFFICERS CONGRATULATED

Ernest Mazey concluded his report with a plea for continued support and cooperation with the Committee. The gathering gave enthusiastic support to the motion to give the officers permanent status with full authority to act in behalf of the Committee. **A motion was passed to congratulate the Committee's officers, Rev. I. Paul Taylor, Chairman, who so ably presided at the meeting; Kenneth E. Boulding, Vice-Chairman; Rev. Robert Bradby Jr., Vice-Chairman; Charles C. Lockwood, Vice-Chairman; Ernest Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer; and Al Barbour, Edgar Currie and Helen Moore Polaner, Trustees.**

The call for the meeting received widespread publicity. All three local daily newspapers carried notices. Two Negro community papers gave it feature write-ups. The **Michigan CIO News, Ford Facts** of UAW Local 600 and the **Voice of Local 212**, Briggs, gave the meeting prominent publicity. Most UAW locals aided in distributing announcements of the meeting.

FORBIDDEN WORD

The CIO United Automobile Workers set up an exhibit at the Pendleton County Fair in Kentucky. The sheriff and county judge were astounded at the UAW's brazenness and ordered the word "union" removed from the exhibit's banner and called the leaflets "nothing but Communist propaganda."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1953 — NUMBER 44

The Negro Struggle

Separate But Equal KKK

By Jean Blake

The recent announcement by the Ku Klux Klan of Florida that it now invites Negroes to join its ranks — in separate klaverns, of course — was treated in many daily papers as a "man bites dog" kind of story. Negro commentators also treated it as a ludicrous proposition. Many of the weeklies printed a picture captioned "The Harlem Branch Ku Klux Klan" showing the radio character Amos in full KKK regalia discussing the matter with Andy.

But jokes aside, why is it so hard to imagine a "reformed" Klan? Why shouldn't this most notorious race-hating organization modernize and legalize itself by conforming to what has been the accepted doctrine of the South, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, that segregation is "the American way" so long as "separate but equal" facilities are provided for colored people?

Race discrimination in America has maintained itself since the days of chattel slavery by adapting its forms to changing conditions. Old-fashioned mob lynching of Negroes has given way to violence by police officers under the cover of legality, and to bombing and dynamiting of Negro homes in Chicago as well as Florida. "Lily-white" organizations and institutions in some cases have granted a few individuals membership, have made a few exceptions so long as the general rule is maintained that the mass of Negroes remain segregated.

Many unions have admitted Negroes, either in Jim Crow locals or some other form of second-class citizenship. Even major CIO and AFL unions, which have felt the pressure of the need to unite all workers, regardless of color, to strengthen their bargaining power, still maintain distinctions by subtly barring colored workers from decisive policy-making positions.

But the most important force in maintaining Jim Crow has been the government. Politicians have given lip service to the principle of equality, but whenever the chips are down, they make it clear they mean a different kind of equality for black and white.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is challenging the "separate but equal" doctrine through the school cases now before the Supreme Court. The NAACP will demonstrate that separate facilities in practice are always inferior. The Court is quite likely to concoct some legalistic principle to the effect that separation should be illegal where it can be proven that equality does not exist. Then segregation can continue undisturbed, and Negroes will have to engage in lengthy and costly legal battles to prove inequality in each individual case.

Or, even if the Supreme Court were to reverse its traditional position that segregation is legal, and rule against "separate but equal" public facilities, Jim Crow will be maintained — in different forms. Governors Byrnes of South Carolina and Talmadge of Georgia have said they'll eliminate public schools and use the basic capitalist principle of private property rights to organize education on some private basis. (And Eisenhower appoints Byrnes as U.S. representative to the UN!)

It's no more ridiculous for the KKK to stand on the "separate but equal" doctrine than for other American institutions. The action of that openly anti-Negro organization merely points up the falseness of the doctrine itself for those who claim "democratic" principles.

Push-Button Factories

By Lynn Marcus

Our tired, rotting capitalist system no longer has any serious interest in providing society with the benefits of modern science. Atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, cobalt bombs, guided missiles, multi-million-dollar toys for the military brass, but virtually nothing that is useful or will make man's daily job easier. It is not only Marxists that point this out; almost daily, some hireling of the capitalist class makes a public statement in which he admits that capitalism is no longer interested in society's real progress.

One of the latest confessions of capitalism's failure comes from Henry F. Dever, President of the Brown Instruments Division of the Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Company in Philadelphia. In a dispatch published in the Oct. 21 N.Y. **Times**: "....Henry F. Dever.... insists that there is no reason to believe that American industry will ever reach a point at which machinery will fully displace manpower. To arrive at such a plan, he said, all the best brains in the industry would have to agree on both the methods of bringing this about and on plans to make it possible. Neither, he added, are at hand or expected in the forseeable future."

In other words, push-button factories require **national planning of production** in order to become a reality and the capitalists are incapable of that kind of national planning. We agree with Mr. Dever on this point: What Mr. Dever has learned from experience, Marxists have known and stated for over a hundred years. Marxists do not need Mr. Dever's word to know that socialist planned production is far superior to the national economic brawl called capitalism.

Mr. Dever is wrong, however, when he says we will have no push-button factories in American industry. Under a Workers' and Farmers' government, there will be no trouble in getting the management of industry at that time (the workers themselves) to agree on taking the steps that will shorten their hours of work and multiply their real wages.

A socialist America will soon free man from his slavery to the machinery of production. Not only that, but the power of American technology, really turned loose in the hands of the workers and farmers, will end wage-slavery and hunger throughout the world.

All the fundamental scientific problems of push-button factories are being solved now. With national planning and good engineering, a socialist America will wipe out the factory chain-gang forever.

Notes from the News

LE MONDE, a leading French newspaper, on Oct. 24 ran a front-page article entitled: "The Bolivian Revolution Between Wall Street and Trotsky." The article said in part: "The left itself is divided between the heads of the COB (Bolivian Workers Confederation), a union which has found natural recruits from among the wretched Indian proletariat, and the leaders of the powerful POR (Trotskyists). These latter openly take the view today that the MNR (government party) has betrayed its program. They violently denounce 'the government's stalling policy and the return of American' influence. They also reproach the COB for its 'bureaucratism' and keep up agitation which is favored by the rise in the cost of living since the devaluation of the currency.

"Recently serious troubles have occurred in the country on the subject of agrarian reform. The impression is given that at times the government risks being outflanked from the left.

"So that between the attempts at restoration favored by the big owners and American capital on the one hand and the revolutionary agitation kept up by the dynamic, faithful followers of Trotsky on the other hand the liberal experiment of President Paz Estenssoro is proceeding on a difficult path where surprises at any time are not excluded."

* * *

WOMEN engaged in work outside the home number just under 19 million, or a third of the U.S. female population. In 1953, women operatives — most of whom are semi-skilled factory workers — constituted the second largest group of employed women, second only to women office workers. In 1940 married women formed a little over a third of women workers. Today more than half the women in the labor force are married. More than 5¼ million or approximately three out of every ten working women are mothers of children under eighteen.

* * *

"FROM HERE TO ETERNITY," the novel by James Jones, has been banned in Jersey City bookstores by the police department, which sent teams of detectives around to "suggest" its removal to store owners. Jersey City, which achieved national notoriety for its political corruption, has also banned the popular movie, "The Moon Is Blue," principally because of pressure from a Catholic censorship group.

ACADEMIC INVENTORY: St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, has completed a sweeping "inventory" of American education and come up with the verdict: Too many schools are fear-ridden and fail to teach students to think.

* * *

HOW MUCH DO YOU HAVE IN THE BANK? Big Business economists have been pointing to the great amount of cash savings as a cushion against depression tendencies. The facts are reported in **Labor's Daily**, Oct. 14: "As a whole, the American people have $98 billion in savings or assets easily convertible into cash. But 66% of the total is held by the top 10% of our families. The bottom half of our families, in the income range, own only 1% of the savings."

* * *

CARDINAL SPELLMAN made a demonstrative defense of witch-hunting McCarthyism before 4,000 Roman Catholics in Brussels, Belgium. "If American prestige is going to suffer" on account of European aversion to McCarthyism, Spellman said, "then it seems more a reflection upon European standards of honor and patriotism than on ours."

* * *

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO. was adjudged a monopoly in the field of electric light bulb manufacture by a federal court in Trenton, N.J., and ordered to dedicate to the public its countless patents on bulb manufacture. The court, however, refused to order GE to sell 50% of its bulb facilities to create competition in that field. This had been asked by the prosecution in the anti-trust suit.

* * *

BANK ROBBERIES have been increasing steadily for the last nine years according to the American Bankers Association. The rate is still behind that of the depression days, however. The bankers and cops are puzzled about the rise. According to the **Wall Street Journal**, "Some suggest it may reflect a moral letdown. Others think it may result from the impact of rising living costs on personal income." A marked feature of bank robberies today is the rise of "amateurism." The tommy-gun gang of professionals has been replaced by the lone amateur. This past year no less than 15 women tried to stick up banks single-handedly. A 19-year-old Texas mother, who alone held up two banks, gave her reason — "to pay household bills."

Latest Smith Act Victims

Convicted under Smith "Gag" Act after 6-month trial in Seattle, these five were sentenced to maximum of five years each in prison. In the group (l. to r.) are editor Terry Pettus of Northwest People's World; Mrs. Barbara Hartle, Sec. John Daschbaugh of Washington Civil Rights Congress, Paul Bowen and Henry P. Huff, northwest district chairman of Communist Party. The judge ruled in effect that mere membership in the CP constitutes violation of the infamous gag law. (See story below.)

Five Witch-Hunt Victims Given Harsh Sentences

By Daniel Roberts

SEATTLE, Oct. 23 — **Five leading Stalinists here have been given some of the stiffest penalties handed out in any Smith Act trial. Each of the defendants — Henry Huff, John Daschbaugh, Terry Pettus, Paul Bowen and Barbara Hartle — was sentenced on Oct. 17 to five years in prison on the frameup charge of "advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence." Henry Huff, Northwest District Organizer of the Communist Party, was fined $5,000. The other four received fines of $1,000 each.**

John Daschbaugh and Terry Pettus were sentenced to an additional three years in prison for contempt of court. Professor Herbert J. Phillips — who had appeared as a defense witness for the Communist Party leaders — also drew a three-year contempt of court sentence. Their "crime" was refusal to cite the names of other members of the Communist Party. They said it was against their principles to turn informer.

DANGER TO LABOR

The 25-week trial began with seven defendants. One, William Pennock, president of the Washington State Pension Union, died during the trial from an overdose of sleeping pills. Another defendant, Karly Larsen, a leading official of the CIO International Woodworkers of America, was acquitted. Larsen conducted his defense separately from the other defendants and pleaded he had quit the Communist Party in 1946. He stated he did not even advocate socialism for this country.

Judge Lindberg's ruling in sentencing the five was extremely vindictive and presents a "clear and present danger" to the entire labor movement. **The opinions of Judge Lindberg, if sustained, can provide a bridge to use of the Smith Act and previous convictions under it to mass-produce prison sentences against any and all opponents of the capitalists.**

Judge Lindberg ruled in effect that mere membership in the Communist Party is sufficient grounds for conviction under the Smith Act, and that such membership would be visited from here on in with increasingly punitive sentences.

FRAMEUP FORMULA

The Judge went on to say that if he were to hear a similar case in the future he would be inclined to take judicial knowledge of the nature and teachings of the Communist Party, which "might reduce the volume and nature of the testimony."

This means that in the future the judge will rule in advance that the Communist Party is a "conspiracy" that "advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence." The determination of this all-important question of fact is now to be made by the judge and not the jury as in previous Smith Act trials. All that there will be left to try in court, if Judge Lindberg's formula prevails, is whether the defendant does or does not belong to the Communist Party. The task of the prosecution will be "reduced" to presenting the "information" of two or three professional stool-pigeons.

By means of this formula any strike leader, any Negro militant, any opponent of imperialist war could be swiftly railroaded to prison for five years.

In sentencing Daschbaugh, Pettus and Phillips to three years for contempt of court, Judge Lindberg upheld the doctrine of the witch hunters that refusal to turn informer is a grievous crime. In an attempt to justify the heavy sentences, the judge told the three that contempt sentences resulting from previous cases "were undoubtedly known to you all. It was apparent that you anticipated that questions of this character would be asked. It was likewise obvious that you were prepared in advance not to respond."

STALINIST DEFENSE

Far from defending the ideas of revolutionary socialism, that is, genuine Marxism, the Stalinist defendants proclaimed, in the words of Terry Pettus, editor of the northwest edition of People's World, that the Communist Party stood "less for the struggle for socialism against capitalism than for the struggle of democracy against fascism."

The prosecutor falsely presented the ideas of Marx and Lenin as a doctrine preaching violent establishment of a clique dictatorship over the majority. Just as falsely, the Stalinist leaders sought to present Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine of collaboration between the working class and so-called peace-and democracy-loving groups of employers. Thus, the genuine ideas of Marxism - Leninism as the science of the liberation of the working class and all the oppressed from capitalist exploitation and as the program of the workers' democratic rule remained unexpounded in the courtroom. What was attacked and defended was in each case a horrible caricature of revolutionary ideas.

LABOR MUST ACT

The conviction of the five provides one more object lesson on the consequences of treachery in the struggle to maintain democratic rights. The Seattle five were among those Stalinist leaders who applauded the imprisonment during the last World War of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith Act. The Stalinists then tried to sabotage labor support for the Minneapolis Case defendants. Now this first conviction under the Smith Act is serving as legal precedent to railroad the Stalinist leaders themselves to prison.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Northwest labor movement refuses to heed the lessons of that experience. The union officials have maintained a shameful silence and refused to defend the new victims of the Smith Act. The officials of the CIO Woodworkers even bureaucratically removed Karly Larsen, later acquitted, from his union post shortly after the trial began. This emboldened the prosecution.

The five Stalinist leaders have appealed their conviction. **The labor movement in the Northwest must reverse its stand of non-support and give maximum aid to the appeal of the five.**

40 Unions Hear SWP Candidates In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25 — **Frank Barbaria and Frances James, Socialist Workers Party candidates for supervisors in the municipal elections, to date have spoken to 40 union meetings. These include 31 AFL union locals, two District Councils of the AFL Carpenters, the AFL's local Central Labor Council, two CIO local unions, the CIO-PAC Regional Council, the ILWU Warehouse Legislative Committee and the ILWU Shipscalers. They have also addressed 13 civic groups, including two Spanish-American organizations. Their final election rally is being held Nov. 1.**

DETROIT VOTERS URGED TO SUPPORT DIGGS

(Continued from page 1)

another local witch hunt. During its last visit these witch hunters concentrated a good deal of their attention against Negro victims.

FEAR DIGGS ELECTION

Why are the reactionary Big Business forces so anxious to keep Diggs from winning a seat on the Common Council? They fear a break in the lily-white composition of the city government because Diggs' election would be a boost to the Negro and labor movement as a whole.

The problems of the Negro people are the problems of the working class as a whole, only doubly aggravated. The Negroes can neither avoid their problems nor abandon their struggles. With their spokesman in City Hall, they would demand satisfaction much more aggressively. **For this reason, Diggs' very presence in the city government would be a great spur to the labor movement and even its so-called "friends." It would raise the whole political level to a new plane, and encourage the efforts of the Negro people and labor in Detroit and throughout the country.**

DIGGS FEELS PRESSURE

All the reactionary pressures are having an effect on Diggs and his campaign statements. They have caused Diggs to retreat in public statements on such things as public housing, and present himself as a mild reformer.

He is apparently seeking an opportunist adaptation to the reactionary pressures which are trying to defeat him and drive him to the right. This is the only answer the capitalist party offers, which has been Diggs' main political background. For example, Diggs' answer to the red baiters' campaign, as quoted in the Detroit Times, was as follows: "I don't want any help from that quarter (Communist Party) and I don't need it. I should think they would not support me in view of my vote for the Trucks anti-Communist Bill."

This capitulation by Diggs even brought protest from liberal-minded Negroes, who are in the forefront of the fight to void the totalitarian Trucks Law as unconstitutional. Diggs would have done his people much good had he seized the chance to condemn the white-supremacist newspapers for trying to smear his campaign. **A bold statement of defiance would have won respect among white voters too, since they know the daily press gives any genuine independent candidate a hard time.**

These retreats on Diggs' part are important, but not decisive. The labor and socialist movement must keep its eye on the central issue, the question of representation for Negro people. Enthusiasm for Digg's candidacy in the Negro community continues high.

The real-estate interests and Big Business generally have for years plunked for their own agents in city government. It is therefore not inappropriate for the Negro people and the progressive section of the labor movement to feel that Diggs is the only worthwhile candidate running in the election, and to devote special efforts on his behalf. A victory for Diggs would be a victory for Negro representation. This would aid in labor's struggles as a whole.

The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party therefore urges the voters to vote for Diggs on Tuesday, Nov 3.

The CIO United Auto Workers has been authorized by the Federal Communications Commission to construct and operate its own television station in Detroit.

Realty Interests Control Chicago 'Anti Slum' Body

By Marion Wilcox

CHICAGO, Oct. 27 — The Republicans didn't hesitate to fill Eisenhower's cabinet with corporation representatives. Mayor Kennelly, Chicago's Democrat mayor, likes Big Business, too. His new five-man "anti-slum board" is composed entirely of Chicago's top business men. The avowed purpose of the board is to rehabilitate the more than 40 square miles of slum in Chicago and to curb their spread.

The members of the board are: 1) The mayor's close personal friend, John Walter Clark, investment banker; 2) Arthur F. Kruggel, former president of the Chicago Real Estate Board, who has been in the real estate business since 1909 and a partner in, or president of, realty companies since 1912; 3) Harry Joseph, who operates a lumber company; 4) Richard L. Jones, executive of the South Center Dept. Store since 1928, president of the 47th Street Businessmen's Assn., director of an insurance and a saving and loan company, etc.; and 5) Clifford A McElvain, who now heads a mortage company.

Mayor Kennelly's committee to "fight slums" might be comical if it didn't mean continuation of tragedies for the tenants of the slums. Did Kennelly appoint one tenant who had a member of his family burned to death in the recent fire epidemic? Not a single tenant of the slums, for that matter, is represented. **Not one person from the thousands who are really vitally interested in rehabilitation of the slums has a voice in Mayor Kennelly's board — not one of those who are forced to live in the crowded, cardboard-partitioned firetraps and pay exorbitant rents. He also omitted any members of trade unions.**

THE TYPES HE CHOSE

What type of people did Mayor Kennelly choose? With one exception they are from the very class of people who would benefit from the continuation of the slums and the collection of its rents. Bankers, investment men, heads of mortgage companies and real estate men are the ones who invest in slums and reap profits from the multi-divided tenement apartments. The one exception on the board, a lumber man, represents construction and materials interests which might hope to profit in case some construction is done to show Chicago "Mayor Kennelly's progress" in slum clearance.

Mayor Kennelly's job seems to be repaying the wealthy who finance his election campaigns, which are geared to convince Chicagoans he is the lesser of two evils as between two Big Business parties.

To clean the Chicago slums the workers must be mobilized into independent mass tenants committees. And the fight must be carried into the political field through building an independent party of the workers that can win control of the government and carry through real slum clearance.

Minn. SWP Celebrates Party's Anniversary

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 25 — More than a hundred workers, students and housewives attended the 25th Anniversary Banquet of the Socialist Workers Party at its state headquarters here last night. Arne Swabeck, of Chicago, a founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement and a personal associate of Leon Trotsky, was the guest speaker.

Over the head table, where 25-year members were seated as guests of honor, was a picture of James P. Cannon, national chairman and founder of the SWP. The walls were decorated with such slogans as, "The Socialist Workers Party — Party of the Coming American Revolution" and "We Celebrate 25 Years of Preparing the World Revolution."

Dorothy Schultz, St. Paul SWP organizer, introduced the honored 25-year members by presenting each with an autographed copy of James Kutcher's new book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran."

25-YEAR MEMBERS

V. R. Dunne, Minnesota party organizer and 25-year member, said that "the most important thing in revolutionary socialist life is the task at hand — the goal of freedom for American workers. A labor party will be the American workers' next step toward the socialist future. . . Take heart because the American socialist revolution is coming and our party will have its honored place."

Other 25-year members honored were Comrade C. R. Hedlund, who said the SWP "has a monopoly on the correct program"; Comrade Peter, who urged that we "make the world a better place to live in — for socialism"; and Comrade Fannie, who expressed confidence in the working class and the party because "ours is a winning cause — we are on the winning side."

NEXT 25 YEARS

Arne Swabeck traced the history of the SWP, declaring, "The record of our party's 25 years is one of an uncompromising fight for our program, with no concessions to imperialism or to Stalinism. We are proud of that record." He showed what marvels the next 25 years can bring. "In modern society we've learned to subject the titanic forces of nature to man's ingenuity. What wonderful vistas open up for us with the possibility and promise of a new social order!" **Toward this accomplishment, he predicted, "the American workers will move forward with hurricane speed and power."**

Co-Operation Of Unions Aids Hillman Strike

CHICAGO, Oct. 27 — One of the most energetic and effective strikes Chicago has seen for some time is in progress at the Hillman "Stop and Shop" chain. The mammoth retail food chain was shut tight when 1,449 out of 1,450 employees walked out over the company's refusal to meet their wage demands. According to the strikers, Hillman's is still paying as low as $30 a week.

Handbills and mass picket lines chanting in unison urged the public "not to shop." After two days of picket lines, Hillman's decided to recognize the facts of life and put up signs, "This Store Closed Today."

The effectiveness of the strike is due, in addition to the militancy of the strikers, to the unprecedented cooperation between unions. Local 329, AFL Building Service Employees Union, the striking union, is receiving support from the Teamsters, Bakers and Butchers unions. All these unions are honoring the picket lines. No bread or cakes are being baked, no meat sold, no produce delivered.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

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Speaker:

George Lavan

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